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Elections » » » » » » »

The Election

WITHIN a few days the national election will take place. As OPPORTUNITY goes to press the campaign is being waged with a vigor that sometimes borders on the heroic by each candidate, and when all is said and done, with surprisingly little bitterness and mudslinging. This is a tribute to the American people and to the leaders of the parties who have without exception conducted the campaign on a level that is as high, if not higher, than that which characterizes political campaigns in any country where freedom of speech still exists.

There have been only one or two instances of attempts to abridge the right of free speech, so vital in a Democracy, the most notable being the stupid and cowardly action of the police of Terre Haute, Indiana, in imprisoning Earl Browder, the Presidential candidate of the Communist party. The net result of this incipient demonstration of fascism was to give nation-wide publicity to the Communist candidate, more publicity than he would have received if he had spoken in Terre Haute every day during the campaign.

One extremely gratifying feature of the campaign has been the tremendous increase in the registration of voters throughout the country. It is a good omen for Democracy when the people show deep concern in political affairs, for it is an aphorism that in a Democracy the people will get just that kind of government which they demand. In the large cities of the North and East where Negro voters constitute a significant portion of the electorate, unprecedented figures for registration have been tabulated, which indicates that the Negro citizen feels that he too has a stake in this election.

Both parties are making extraordinary efforts to align the Negro vote or at least the majority vote of the citizens of color, especially in the pivotal states. The recognition of the importance of the so-called Negro vote is a comparatively recent development in American politics and is unquestionably an indication of the fact that that vote is no longer "in the bag."

OPPORTUNITY is non-partisan. It has no candidate. Its interest is in a fair and free election in which all citizens of the United States participate on an equal basis. That this will not be possible in most of the southern states is a reproach to America and a betrayal of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and as long as the deliberate disfranchisement of thousands of qualified Negro voters persists, Democracy itself will not be secure.

THE editorial printed below was written for the *Long Island Daily Press* of Jamaica, L. I., by Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League. Mr. Jones was the guest editor of the *Long Island Daily Press* for the second time on September 28, 1936 and this editorial has received wide and favorable comment.

The Liberal Trend

Opposing Extremes

The whole world today is torn between two very opposite points of view on a program of governmental and social procedure to guarantee the maximum happiness to mankind. On one extreme we have the regimented society of Fascism, with a single dictator elevated or tolerated by the people through the use of armed force, which sets standards of prices, wages, customs and national ideals. At the other extreme we have the ideal of a communistic state in which private ownership and individual independence are submerged into the cosmos of state control and domination. Here there is no group recognition of religion, no accumulation of private property, no material reward for extraordinary energy and accomplishment. In neither of these two extremes of social philosophy is there provision for strong advocacy of a system or systems at great variance with the established order — and the "wages of sin" against the established order "is death"—literal death.

America, the "land of the free," a country where the ideals of democracy as expressed in our Bill of Rights, Declaration of Independence and Constitution are sufficiently liberal and inclusive of possible human action to meet all human needs, must decide whether it means to attain these ideals in fact or make half-hearted efforts to approach the ideals only so far as the controlling majority demand.

The trend of world thinking today is towards liberalism, that liberalism which would guarantee social and economic security to every man. No man or group of men in America can withstand the onrush of popular demand for abolition of child labor, for the extension of unemployment and old age insurance, for reasonable wages and hours of labor, for universal educa-

tional facilities, for decent living quarters for all, for a sensible agrarian system which includes aid for the farmer in the form of crop insurance, fair prices for his crops, aids to small farm ownership and a system for good rural roads. To realize these ideals of modern living, suffrage must be extended to all, security of life and property must be vouchsafed and good government with extension and purification of the civil service must be guaranteed.

Thoughtful economists and sociologists have a long time known that these changes would eventually be inevitable but a prejudiced public was willing to deny to the millions of persons comprising disadvantaged races and classes the more favorable status as long as the social inequalities did not involve any considerable number of the controlling elements. But today, we are conscious of the fact that economic laws are as inviolable as are physical laws and that no group can avoid the scourge of economic sins and ills. So, we find that while religious tenets can be heralded abroad with no telling action towards justice and right, when men begin to suffer from a system which eventually spares no group or class, effective changes in laws and customs and in the enforcement of these laws and customs ensue with loud demands for new democratic institutions.

Thus, our own generation lives to see a renaissance of the "spirit of 1776" with no group classed as slave or serf, with no section of our land unaffected by the rising tide of liberty and America at the cross-roads deciding to take the "path to glory."

—*From the Long Island Daily Press, September 28, 1936.*

Re-employment

THROUGH the National Re-employment Service, the government is making an intensive effort to have private industry reabsorb the employable workers who are now working on WPA projects or who are on Relief. The National Re-employment Service, known as the NRS, has recently been considerably expanded in order that an effective and sustained assault might be made on unemployment. The government feels that the Relief Rolls and the WPA contain many people who might be inducted into private industry, which is now well on the way to complete recovery.

Unless some special effort is made to see that colored citizens now working on WPA projects or receiving Relief are included in this reabsorption into private industry, the Negro may find himself permanently a recipient of direct relief or work relief, which is at best merely a temporary expedient. And it is perfectly possible that the Negro will be as badly off when the depression is over, if it ever is, as he was at its beginning. As a matter of fact, he might possibly be worse off if he is excluded from this program for the rehabilitation of the workers.

In order that this shall not happen there should be Negro representatives on the interviewing staffs of the NRS in every section of the country and it would be advisable, in view of the recorded experience of the Negro worker, that a Negro assistant administrator should be appointed by the Federal government. Unless definitely instructed to seek the placement of Negro workers, as well as those of other racial and national groups, it can be assumed, in the light of employment history in America, that no mention will be made of Negro workers by the ordinary white interviewers on the staff of the NRS. On a nationwide scale such neglect will prove disastrous to the Negro worker and vitiate the efforts of the government to reduce the vast sums now being spent on Relief and the WPA.

Not that the ordinary white interviewer is moved by active racial prejudice so much as by ignorance of the Negro worker, indifference, and primary concern for the workers of his own group. Even when given positive instructions as to the inclusion of Negro workers, he or she is apt to forget to follow them unless they are constantly and specifically brought to his or her attention. The presence of Negro interviewers on the staffs not only will aid Negro workers but will be a constant reminder to white interviewers of their whole duty.

The C.I.O. and Negro Labor » »

• By ERNEST CALLOWAY

A young Negro, a former worker in the coal mines of Kentucky who knows from first-hand experience some of the problems of the organized and unorganized worker, comments on the crisis between industrial and craft unionism.

SINCE the early days of that small group of courageous Philadelphia cordwainers, who combined together to form the first American labor union, and more recently so, since the Emancipation Proclamation and the National Labor Union, the problem of Negro labor has consistently dominated the background of the whole movement of American labor.

It is not coincidental that the American labor movement was not able to gain status on a national scale until after the Civil War and the "freeing" of the slaves. The uneven development of American economy retarded the progress of any movement on the part of labor or potential labor. England, by comparison, having gone through all the regular processes of economic and industrial development, had a well established working class movement at the time the American working class formed their first union of national importance. American economy, at that time, operating within the confines of its agricultural base, was slowly going through an internal revolution. The continuous conflict of economic forces led to the social revolution, sometimes called the Civil War, which, if American history is viewed with greater perspective, was not an isolated conflict but merely a continuation of the social revolution of 1776. These revolutions were not confined to the American continent but similar ones had taken place in Europe, and in passing, had their origin there. All were the results of the sweeping tides of the Industrial Revolution and the new economic theories of the laissez-faire school. The rising middle class threw off the yoke of the landed aristocracy and in doing so, created a new and distinct class in world society, the wage earner.

After the Civil War and the submerging of the American landed aristocracy for a short period, the economic reorganization of the nation got under way. American economy shifted its agricultural base to a new industrial base and in the shifting process the Negro chattel slave became a wage earner and entered the competitive labor market. Thus with American economy established on its industrial base and the cessation of chattel slavery, the American labor movement, as we know it today, began its belated historical course.

William Sylvis, a moulder with convictions, dominated the National Labor Union during its brief existence. He viewed the problem of Negro labor in its relationship to white labor with greater clarity and deeper insight than any of the future aspirants to the leadership of American labor. His contacts with progressive thought gave him the proper perspective to view the working class movement in its entirety and its future relationship to modern industrial society. Sylvis felt that if the Negro was excluded from the movement, or if no efforts were made to bring the Negro into the movement, it would result in the crumbling of the economic foundation of both the Negro worker and the white worker. The Negro worker, plagued with the usual array of self-styled Negro leaders who felt that economic determinism was of lesser importance than their political fortunes, was hog-tied to the conservative, monopoly conscious wing of the Republican Party. Thus at the legal birth of the American trade union movement, the Negro worker unconsciously aligned himself with the extreme forces of reaction, while organized labor in its toddling infancy groped in the dark for a solution to the newly created era of industrialization. The untimely death of William Sylvis and the subsequent disintergration of the National Labor Union left the American working class bankrupt as an organized social and economic force. This continued bankruptcy led American labor into the swampy mysticism of the Knights of Labor.

Ideologically the Knights of Labor was a revolt of the American petit bourgeoisie against the rapid spread of industrialization. It brought to light the first seeds of American middle-class decadence. The inclusion of professionals, shopkeepers, small manufacturers and their employes was a travesty on unionism. The present day opponents of industrial unionism often refer to the Knights of Labor's failure as an industrial organization failure. This contention is based on ignorance or an utter disregard of the historical development of American industry and economy. The very nature of the Knights of Labor's make-up and philosophy rendered it powerless to analyze the problem of Negro labor with any degree of realism. The utopian premise on which the Knights of Labor based its existence ran contrary to all the laws of dynamic social forces.

Out of this pell-mell of confusion emerged the craft conscious American Federation of Labor. Let it be said, that the philosophy of craft unionism, as such, with all its present day defects, represented a far more progressive philosophy of trade unionism during the historical period in which the American Federation of Labor was formed, than the fraternalism of the Knights of Labor. Yet this philosophy, for all practical purposes, soon found itself in daily conflict with the quickly changing industrial order. On practical application this circumscribed unionism not only excluded the mass of skilled and unskilled Negro labor but large sections of white labor as well. The theory of job control, going hand in hand with the organization of the select few highly skilled crafts, created a suicidal illusion within the minds of this select few. The illusion of aristocracy. The consequences of this illusion resulted in a blinding antagonism to any change in the structure of the American Federation of Labor, which was imperative if labor was to become an independent entity in our complex industrial organization.

The turn of the century also marked a decided turn in American economy. The Spanish-American war had been fought for the Hearst newspapers at the expense of the American taxpayer. The United States had begun an era of unprecedented financial expansion. American capitalism had entered the war-mongering stage of imperialism and its arch-deacon had been placed in the White House. The complete trustification of capital had submerged the farmer and small business man. Monopolization at home as well as abroad had artificially "poverty-rized" the large mass of native population as well as colonial population. The introduction of finance-capital gave banking control of industry. The search for sources of raw materials and the mad rush for world markets had created international competition. And the emergence of the assembly line of mass production in American industry had given greater significance to the industrial union form of labor organization. Labor, as a commodity, felt the suffocating strangulation in the mad whirlpool of the changing composition of American capital. Thus American labor enters another historical period in the development of the trade union movement. A period in which the basic contradictions of an economic system had brought in to full view its glaring inequalities.

All past revolts, whether real or fancied, have been treated by the ordinary historian, with a flourish of the dramatic and a flair for romanticizing the whole era of historical change. These historians have had a greater desire to entertain their immediate readers than to make a convincing analysis for future posterity. This has been the prevailing attitude with the present day over-crowded field of newspaper commentators, mild labor historians and the non-labor "authority" on the working class movement. Their whole treatment and shallow evaluation of the present crisis within the American labor movement has resolved itself around the desires of two personalities, William Green and John L. Lewis. They see in William Green the stickler for tradition and see in John L. Lewis the reincarnation of Daniel DeLeon and "Big Bill" Haywood. And the movement for industrial unionism goes up with the wind, which has resulted in the uninformed, unorganized worker getting an untrue and warped picture of the state of affairs of organized labor.

To correct some of the misguided "legendized" conceptions of the Committee for Industrial Organization, it is necessary to review briefly the past fifty-five years of the American Federation of Labor and its efforts to organize the 30,000,000 American wage-earners. Although organized in 1881 it was not until 1896 that the A. F. of L. could claim a membership of 500,000 which was the result of an extensive organizational campaign pushed by Sam Gompers. This steady growth continued until 1913, and it reached a high mark of 2,700,000. Due to the war and stimulated by the government, the membership rose to approximately 5,000,000 between 1916-20. After the war membership declined to its 1913 mark. The A. F. of L. lost about 2,000,000 members in a short period of two years. In 1933 the membership of the A. F. of L. totaled 2,900,000. In twenty years the trade union movement had only gained 200,000 members. A twenty year period which is highly significant, for it was during this period that trustification of industry reached its peak.

The supporters of craft unionism are determined in their convictions that the craft type of organization will accomplish more in the long run and its practicability is far superior to that of any other method of organization. They also maintain, in the era of huge industrial combines, that the industrial union form of organization is merely a visionary panacea and the organization of the American worker is a slow process. They ask, why the sudden panic on the part of certain elements within the trade union movement? The craft unionists continue to revel in the fact that they restored trade unionism to the wage earner.

The issue of industrial unionism, based upon an analysis of industrial combinations, has been

before the American trade union movement for almost a half century. Back in the '90s Sam Gompers and Daniel DeLeon fought tooth and nail on the same issue. DeLeon, highly versed in the industrial character of modern society but totally naive on the psychology of the American worker, formed the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which completely isolated the industrial union movement from the American worker. DeLeon's uncompromising hostility to the American Federation of Labor resulted in the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance becoming the small sectarian group for which it is remembered today, and ultimately labelled the industrial union movement with a tinge of "redness."

The Industrial Workers of the World, or commonly referred to as the "Wobblies," can trace the failure of their attempt to gain a lasting foot-hold in the trade union movement to the lack of a sound approach to the American worker. Although the activity of the I.W.W. enjoyed a certain measure of success among migratory workers for a short period, it was utterly devoid of trade union realism.

During the latter part of the 1920's, the Trade Union Unity League embarked upon its suicidal course of revolutionary dualism. Although the affiliates to the T.U.U.L. were industrial in character, the issue of industrial unionism, as such, was submerged in a maze of ill-advised revolutionary activity. Their only claim for existence was the mechanical transference of policies and program of the Red International of Labor Unions of which the T.U.U.L. was not only an affiliate but whose policies and activities were dictated by the R.I.L.U. The T.U.U.L. failed to profit by the historical errors of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the I.W.W., for it combined the mistakes of both organizations, which led to its distintegration, and isolation from the mainstream of American labor.

The above mentioned forces confined their activity, in the main, outside the American Federation of Labor. Within the Federation agitation for industrial unionism through the proper channels has been going on for a number of years. One union, outstanding for its progressiveness, has led a militant fight for the structural reformation of the A. F. of L., namely the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is semi-industrial in make-up but wholly industrial in outlook. Another union, recently admitted to the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, also joined in the agitation for industrial unionism. Both unions have been pillars of progress in the American labor movement for some time. During the NR[illegible] code hearings, the I.L.G.W.U., the A.C.W.A. and the United Mine Workers with the bulk [illegible] their industries strongly organized were more [illegible] less able to dictate their own terms to the cod[illegible] authorities, while workers in many other indus[illegible] tries accepted the verdict of their combined em[illegible] ployers.

At the San Francisco (1934) A. F. of L. con[illegible] vention, resolutions were adopted to the effec[illegible] that the A. F. of L. would stimulate organiza[illegible] tion among the steel workers. (The code au[illegible] thority for the steel industry had been the Amer[illegible] ican Iron and Steel Institute and still remains so, despite the death of the NRA). The union that felt the greatest pressure from the unorganized steel workers was the powerful industrial union, the United Mine Workers of America. This pressure on the organized miners was due to the close alliance of the coal industry to the steel industry. The captive coal mines of the steel industry have been and still remain a thorn in the side of the United Mine Workers. Its success as the spokesman for the American miner is constantly menaced by the unorganized steel workers. The resolution of the 1934 convention concerning the organization of the steel workers remained on paper throughout the ensuing year.

Atlantic City and the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor was a memorable convention. Its significance has been increased daily in view of the probability that it was the last convention of a unified trade union movement in America. At this convention a number of resolutions were introduced which revolved around the industrial-craft controversy such as craft unions "raiding" industrial unions for members (case of International Association of Machinists and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union); settlement of jurisdictional disputes (case of the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters' Union); outright appeals to the convention for an industrial union charter (case of the Automobile workers and the Radio workers); and hundreds of resolutions of a general nature on industrial unionism. Charles P. Howard of the Typographical Union made the minority report of the resolutions committee on the issue of industrial unionism and offered a motion for its adoption. After hours and hours of debate the motion was defeated by a vote of approximately 11,000 to 18,000. This 11,000 represented the largest vote the industrial union forces had received in the whole history of the A. F. of L.

Later John L. Lewis resigned from the Executive Council in protest against the Council's policies toward the steel organization cam-

paign. Thereupon the U.M.W.A., I.L.G.W.U., A.C.W., U.T.W., the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union and the Cap and Millinery Union formed the Committee for Industrial Organization. Its object at first was educational, but with the conclusion of the recent convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, it was indicated that the activity would not be confined strictly to agitation but concrete plans would be made to organize the mass production industries. The suspension of the C.I.O. unions by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was one of the most flagrant violations of trade union democracy in the entire history of the labor movement.

With the Committee for Industrial Organization unequivocally committed to a definite stand on industrial unionism, and well on its way, let us turn to the problem of Negro labor in its relationship to industrial unionism. Many students of labor problems contend that industrial unionism holds the solution to many of our present day social and economic ills. These practical students should not make the mistake of becoming "panacea conscious." Upon a searching analysis of many of these social and economic ills, this may be a far too sweeping statement. And to continue making such long-range statements makes it difficult to maintain that healthy required equilibrium for examining social and economic defects. Of course, one of the important assets of industrial unionism, many will agree, is that it has the necessary factors towards the creation of a greater labor compactness among the many racial working groups.

With this theoretical premise, let us make a practical examination of the attitude towards the Negro worker of some of the unions that form the C.I.O.

1—UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA—With a membership of 500,000 it is the largest union in the country. Its racial composition is varied. Native whites, Negroes, Italians, Welsh, Hungarians and many other national groups. Everyone is admitted to the union on a basis of complete equality. The West Virginia coal fields probably constitute the largest Negro membership in the U.M.W.A. West Virginia is strongly organized with the possible exception of Logan County. Kentucky has a large Negro membership and is strongly organized with the possible exception of Harlan County. Alabama, Virginia and Tennessee have large Negro memberships. Throughout all the locals leadership is proportionately divided between Negro and white miners. West Virginia has probably made the greatest contribution to the cause of Negro-white unionism. In the U.M.W.A. the racial question is submerged by a greater desire to keep their economic declaration of independence constantly before the combined financial interest of the coal industry.

2—INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION—With a membership of 225,000, it is the second largest union in the C.I.O. group. This is predominantly Jewish and Italian, with a number of Negroes and other nationalities. With the exception of one local (Local 89, which is the Italian local and is based on a language difference and not a racial difference) all are admitted also on a basis of complete equality. Local 22, under the guiding spirit of the militant Charles S. Zimmerman, has become the most progressive single local in the entire labor movement. With a membership of 30,000 including every racial group (with the exception of the Italians) in the New York City dress industry, it forms a model in unionism. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been in the forefront of American labor in working out the solution of the Negro-white labor problem. This is done through an extensive workers' education program under the leadership of Fania M. Cohn and Mark Starr.

3—AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA—Membership 150,000. This union has a well defined attitude towards the Negro worker similar to that of the I.L.G.W.U. The bulk of the men's clothing industry is located in northern metropolitan areas and the number of Negroes in the industry is very small. This union, last year in Norfolk, Va., made history in the field of race relations in its conduct of the organizational drive on the Finkelstein Co., which employed a large number of Negroes as well as white workers. The Amalgamated campaign among the Negroes, under the capable leadership of George Streater, assisted by Tom Dabney, and among the white workers, the crack A.C.W.A. organizers, Edith Christensen, Elizabeth (Zilla) Hawes and Hilda Cobb, resulted in bringing together the two groups, which astounded the staid community of Norfolk and the feat was recognized as the best achievement in the field of race relations during the year of 1935.

4—UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS—Membership 79,200. This union, although conducting one of the most militant strikes in trade union history—the 1934 general textile strike—has not been as praise-worthy in handling the Negro-white problem as the above mentioned unions. The textile industry formerly located in New England but of late a large section has moved South to escape unionization of its employes in the North; also the attractive financial inducements offered by city councils and chambers of commerce in southern communities have been important factors in the shift, without mentioning the guarantee of cheap contented labor. The textile industry for years has been considered the "sick man of American industry." It has for many years thrived on government subsidization. As the industry has been the "sick man," the textile union has been the problem child of American trade unionism. In the South where attempts have been made to organize Negroes and whites, the union has given way to local prejudices, which resulted in the creation of separate locals. Of course, any one can see that the move is self-protective, which is very good argument from the organization point of view, but it does not bring us closer to the goal of creating a healthy labor solidarity on the part of Negro and white textile workers. Another organization in the South that has to contend with the same type of psychology and prejudices has been able to break through this wall with a great degree of success. An outstanding example

is the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, under the courageous leadership of Howard Kester, McKinney, H. L. Mitchell and hundreds of other valiant Negro and white share-croppers. Another organization needs mentioning in its struggle for southern labor solidarity, the southern committee of the Workers' Alliance, led by two southerners, Hilliard Bernstein of Virginia and Dave Benson of Florida; and not forgetting the "missionary" work of the Highlander Folk School and those militant "missionaries," Miles Horton, Jim Dombrowski and Zilla Hawes.

5—UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS—Membership 80,000. This union is the "baby" union of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O., only receiving an international charter about two years ago. All the other unions we have discussed had something to offer the Negro in the form of protection against wage slavery by reason of their strength and long experience in the labor movement, but with the automobile workers the Negro has a chance to repay that debt. He has the opportunity to make a wonderful contribution to the trade union movement. In discussing the previous unions, we have discussed the attitude of the union towards the Negro. The table turns. We shall discuss the attitude of the Negro towards the union. Ernest Rice McKinney, Negro organizer for the Steel Workers Committee, wrote quite correctly when he commented on the reluctance of Negro steel workers joining the steel union. The statement could be applied to every unorganized Negro worker in the country. He said, "Some day Negro steel workers may allege that an organized steel union has passed them over in the selection of officers and organizers, or they may complain that the union is not paying enough attention to the matter of protecting Negroes from the onslaughts of the company. But these complainants will have to ask themselves what had been their attitude towards the union. Did they join in the early days of the union, help build it, make sacrifices, pay their dues promptly and participate loyally in the union struggles? Or did they hang back and let the white workers make all the sacrifices, do all the hard work, take the knocks and render all the services to the union? In other words, will Negro steel workers, after the union has been built up, *still be demanding that they get something for nothing*" (italics mine, E. C.). This, in no uncertain terms, reminds the writer of the attitude of the bulk of Negro automobile workers in the Buick plant at Flint, Mich. There the local union has offered every inducement possible to the Negro auto worker, electing two Negroes to the local executive board. These two Negroes were actually condemned by the Negro community for betraying the race and the Buick company. In Cleveland, during the auto strike of 1935 at the Chevrolet plant, not a single Negro face was seen in the auditorium of the metal trades council during the many strike meetings. In Cleveland again, during the strike of the Battery Workers, a picket line had formed around the plant. A few Negroes coming to work tried to break through the line and were begged to get in the picket line and join the strike but to no avail. They kept a sharp eye on the front window of the boss's office. These irresponsibilities on the part of Negro workers will not further the cause of unionism. This attitude towards unionism must be changed if Negroes are going to seek admission to unions on a basis of complete equality. The Negro Workers' Councils of the Urban League, under the progressive and sincere leadership of Lester B. Granger, has the possibilities of becoming an instrument through which the Negro worker could be made more trade union conscious and the development of the sense of responsibility that is required towards the building of a strong labor movement.

6—AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS—Present membership unknown. This union is in the midst of a rebirth. Its past attitude towards the Negro has been one of vacillation, if not open disregard to the problem of the Negro steel worker. Today under the leadership of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. its policies and structure have been changed completely. The attitude of the S.W.O.C. towards the Negro really needs no discussion. The Committee is waging one of the greatest campaigns in the history of the labor movement to bring the steel worker into the union. A number of Negro organizers have been put in the field to work among Negro steel workers, and it is another case of the attitude of the Negro towards unionization. The S.W.O.C. is planted deep in the soil of progressive traditions of American trade unionism, and with its present rate of success the steel workers union is destined to become the base of the future trade union movement.

This discussion of the attitudes of industrial and semi-industrial unions toward the Negro, finds itself pushed to the background, on examining the economic gains of industrial unionism and its general tendency to break down the wide gap in living standards between many white workers and Negro workers. It is agreed that the very nature of industrial unionism makes it possible for the Negro to enter the union on a footing of equality with that of his fellow white worker, which paves the way to destroy that vicious system used by employers of playing one racial group against the other, through wage differentials. From this point it is possible to bring the standard of living of the Negro worker, as it compares to that of the white worker, out of the theoretical realm of abstraction, and into the field of practical economics of the every day bread and butter variety.

In discussing living standards, one must necessarily consider two important factors, monetary wages and real wages. One is the amount of money a worker receives for the sale of a given amount of labor power. The other is the amount of goods (food, clothing, shelter, education, insurance and amusements) the worker is able to purchase for the amount of labor power sold. Of the two, the real wage determines the living standard. The solution to the problem of the real wage lies in independent political mass action on the part of labor, which we are not discussing at this point but will be discussed in a future article.

A Lost Continent and Its People » »

• By C. M. JEFFERSON

All of us like to indulge in speculation at times, and much that passes for truth in race relations is but little more than speculation. But of the origins of the races of earth, who knows? Here are a few facts that should arouse your interest.

PHILIP LUTLEY SCLATER, the naturalist, named the submerged continent of the Pacific: Lemuria because it was within its scope that the wide-eyed lemuriod animal was discovered. The title struck the fancy of the geologists who had accrued evidence of the continental mass which formerly filled an enormous portion of the world's most extensive pleagic jorum. Of course there have been no picturesque myths attending the name Lemuria, although the vanished Atlantis has been memorialized by the Greek classics.

Fifty years ago the Presbyterian Mission ship, Day-spring, lost her anchor in deep water off the island of Tanna. The anchor, today, may be viewed as it reclines on the peak of a hill. This hill has arisen from the abode of Neptune —from the same depths in which the anchor was lost. On the coast of Tanna there is a harbour which was named Port Resolution by Captain Cook. Today, it is no longer a harbour. Gradually the floor has raised. A native chief in Tongoa declares that he saw the island of Araki move nearer and nearer to his own island, and then move on to the east to the position that it now occupies.

The logs of the seventeenth century navigators contain several entries referring to Pacific land-masses which are now invisible to the eye. The Bachelor's Delight commanded by John Davis in 1687 sighted ranges of highland which he took to be islands. Sailing in the latitude of Easter Island, he was gazing westward, "about twelve leagues by judgment. . . . This land seemed to reach about fourteen or fifteen leagues in a range, and there came thence great flocks of fowls." Dutch Admiral Ruggewein sailing along the same latitude thirty-five years later, searched for "Davis Land." There were no signs of it. Incidentally, he discovered on Easter Day an island which he named "Easter Island."

To further substantiate the theory of "rising and sinking" ground let it be further noted that Juan Fernandez, in 1576, encountered what he believed to be the coast of that great southern continent of which so many of the seamen of his day had dreamed. "I saw the mouths of very large rivers . . . and people so white and so well clad and in everything different from those of Chile and Peru that I was amazed."

A subject of considerable perplexity to archeologists are the ruins which were scattered over the surface of the Pacific. Ruins of monuments and statues, the origins of which are still undetermined. We know that builders of the Polynesian race and other peoples of the Pacific were responsible for some of these, but there are evidences existing which cannot be attributed to the known races of the Pacific. There lived and improved a race far anterior to the epochs here mentioned. Some of these stone monuments discovered in various regions of Africa have so greatly puzzled Africanists that their origin still remains a mystery. Quite confusing are the edifices of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia and the raised stones and carved rocks of Gambia "in which traces of a sun cult are considered to be revealed."

An interesting incident relative to these monuments occurred recently. Colonel Johnny Robinson, the aviator to Haile Selassie, was being shown various forms of architecture in New York City. Approaching the unfinished Rockefeller Cathedral he expressed amazement.

"—But I have seen this same structure before! In the jungles of Rhodesia stands a similar monument—and not only that—scattered all through South Africa are ruins and monuments exactly like these. . . ."

At sight of the window and panels he expressed further surprise, exclaiming that they were exact replicas of those he had come upon within Africa.

Fragments of that dark glassy volcanic rock called obsidian have been unearthed in the south-eastern part of British New Guinea. Considered the most backward place in the world, New Guinea has offered up fragments of pottery, stone, and other obsidian implements which are quite unlike those used there today. Excavations have revealed stone circles, carvings of birds and irrigation terraces in that part of Africa.

Bearing in mind that this continent called Lemuria lay to the south of what is Asia today or portions of Africa, we shall consider another interesting point of argument from archeology. Herbert Spence writes: "The deserted city of Metalanim, the ruins of which cover eleven square miles, stands on the south-eastern shore of Ponape. The site is covered by massive walls, stupendous earthworks, and great tem-

ples, intersected by miles of artificial waterways, from which circumstance it has received the name of The Venice of the Pacific. The entire island of Ponape is littered with huge basaltic blocks which must have been brought by raft from a distance of 30 miles, and from similar blocks have been built the massive walls of the harbour and the embankments of the winding canals, many of which are from 30 to 100 feet in breadth. The outer cincture which surrounds the city is partially submerged, and this has given rise to the idea that the land on which Metalanim was built has subsided in later times. But this seems improbable, as the colossal breastworks which line the canals are all above low tide, and it is plain that the buildings have been erected on artificial islands constructed on the foundation of the natural coral reef. It is evident that the city was built on the eastern coast of the island, so that if it were attacked on the land side escape could readily be effected by sea, and it is equally plain that the waterways were constructed to enable rafts laden with stone to be brought close up to the artificial islands on which the larger buildings were raised. . . . A colossal staircase leads to a courtyard littered with fragments of fallen pillars which encircle a second terraced enclosure with a projecting frieze or cornice. Within the inner enclosure lies the great central vault or 'treasure-chamber' of a legendary dynasty known to local tradition as the Chan-te-leur, or 'Kings of the Sun.' The nature of the building material at the disposal of the ancient masons who raised Metalanim exhibits the difficulty presented by the erection of large edifices on an artificial foundation. . . . The immense basaltic crystals they employed must have been almost unworkable with the primitive tools at their disposal, and as the megalithic masses dealt with were usually five, six, and eight-sided, the structures of which they are a part frequently present a bristling appearance. . . . Excavation of the tombs discovered on the site has revealed the presence of axes . . . shells, beads . . . wristlets and other ornaments. . . . Judging from four skulls found on the site, Christian and Kubary believed Metalanim to have been founded by a negroid race."

It has been established that the Polynesians were not Lemurians, for they immigrated into the Oceanic area when its civilization and culture had reached a high stage. There existed, however, a white, fair-haired race of non-European blood. With the entrance of the Polynesians this race fled to Hawaii and New Zealand for refuge, where they were worshipped as Gods. For many generations this light strain predominated with the Maoris, but at times there were changes. The original brown color of this race would be in the ascendancy. Moving west this fairness grows fainter in the same people. To the astonishment of many scientists they find that some of the mothers of "these fair, curly-haired children . . . are as dark as Negroes."

The aborigines of the Lemurian continent, after undergoing many stages of evolution, fell into decadence. They became a stunted race whose descendants, the so-called savages, inhabit certain portions of the earth today in great numbers. Realizing that the ground was gradually sinking, the inhabitants built at higher and higher levels until they were occupying mountain peaks. Rocked with volcanic eruptions and warped with the rivers of hot lava, northern portions of the continent vanished first. Rome's spectacular destruction was not more tragic than this, for evidences exist today which aid in reconstructing the picture of sudden doom. Harris, in "Africa, Slave or Free," describes the structures and ruins in the Zambesi valley and points out: "Their implements remain to this day—not single instruments in a given spot, but hundreds of them, scattered over the entire territory. . . . Nor is this all, for many of the old workings remain today just as they were hurriedly forsaken on one tragic day many centuries ago, while scattered around in the debris are tiny fragments of pure gold. . . ." A destined group of Lemurians were immediately dispatched from the continent, and from "these the Atlantean Race developed." Five million years ago this race came into existence, while extensive territory in the southern continent still existed. These remaining portions covered the area of the African Delta.

Remnants of this civilization scattered everywhere. A new continent formed which extended from Iceland to Rio de Janeiro. Portions of this homeless race migrated to its southern shores. Other members of the dark race moved north to promontories contiguous with Iceland, and living there for innumerable generations they grew lighter in color, "until at the date of the first map period we find them a tolerable fair people."

Passing the Hundredth Milestone » »

• By HELEN HAVENER

The Colored Orphanage at Riverdale-on-Hudson rounds out a century of effective service for the Negro boys and girls in New York City.

WHEN November 26th of this year dawns, it will mark the passage of exactly 100 years since a group of Quaker women gathered in the lamplit parlor in the home of William Shotwell in lower Manhattan to form the Association for the Benefit of Colored Children in the City of New York.

Today on the banks of the Hudson at Riverdale, surrounded by lovely private homes, lies the Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for the Benefit of Colored Children. Its towering administration building, its neat brick cottages, each with the friendly atmosphere of a private home, its spacious lawns and playgrounds mark it as a social welfare agency of the modern, progressive type.

Between that institution and the gathering in the Shotwell parlor in a late autumn day in 1836 have flowed an entire century of colorful history, yet but for the one the other would not exist.

When the hundredth anniversary rolls around, two names will be oftenest on the lips of the present-day trustees. They will be those of Anna H. Shotwell and Mary Murray, two young Quaker women, who on a midsummer day on Cherry Street more than a century ago learned from two Negro boys that there was no place to which the municipal authorities could send dependent Negro children but the almshouse or the jail. They were the actual founders of the Orphanage.

In protest against the injustice of such a system, they summoned a group of their Quaker friends, and the Association for the Benefit of Colored Children was formed. An old report tells how the trustees purchased an "old but pretty, white cottage on 12th Street, shaded by two horse chestnut trees," and then presented themselves at the gates of the almshouse to demand that the 11 colored children confined there, "who had been subjected to cruel indignities because of race prejudice," be turned over to their care.

It was not easy going in the 12th Street house, and the utmost thrift had to be exercised. But the women of those days were good managers. Household expenses in the tiny menage for the first seven months amounted to but $234.07, and a teacher and school books were provided for the first year for the incredibly low sum of $196.89. This economy was made possible largely through the generosity of friends who gave food, linen and occasionally money to the institution. Among these early donors were John Jacob Astor, John Hancock and Peter Stuyvesant.

Six years after its founding, the 12th Street house was burned by incendiaries and the Quaker founders moved their young charges to 50th Street, which was then on the very outskirts of the town.

In 1842 the city presented the institution with 20 lots of waste land on Fifth Avenue between 43rd and 44th Streets, and with $5,000 donated by the Manumission Society, and money assembled from other sources, a substantial brick building was erected. A garden was planted, a cow and chickens were purchased, and it looked as if the children were settling down to an era of prosperity.

But drama dogged the institution from the beginning. First came an epidemic of cholera which caused the death of a considerable number of children, and then the draft riots of July, 1863, during which the Fifth Avenue house was burned to the ground.

One of the Orphanage reports thus described this the most stirring chapter in the history of the institution: "The children, numbering 233,

Miss Anna H. Shotwell, Founder

were quietly seated in their schoolroom, playing in the nursery or reclining on their beds in the hospital, when an infuriated mob, consisting of several thousand men, women and children, armed with clubs and brick bats, advanced upon the institution and effected an entrance by breaking down the front door with an axe. The mob swept through the building, pillaging and destroying, saturating the floor with inflammable substances and kindling fires in fifteen different places.

"In a few brief words of prayer, such prayer as is not often heard, the earnest supplication for terrified and persecuted little children, the Superintendent flung open the heavy back door which had thus far resisted attack and giving the order the long line of terrified little ones filed out. In the centre was the nurse, carrying two babies, with a half dozen others clinging to her skirts. Humanly speaking, there was no eye to pity; no hand to save.

"The sight of a helplessness so absolute stirred in the hearts of the rioters a feeling akin to pity. Cursing was turned to blessing. And then a hush fell over the crowd, the seething mass fell back upon itself, and a passage was opened for the children. It seemed as though a mighty hand was holding them in control.

"A little girl, a child of eight years, was seen to detach herself from the ranks and passing fearlessly through the crowd, disappeared into the house, from the windows of which sheets of lurid flame were already bursting forth. No one could surmise her object, no command could restrain. In a few moments she was seen coming from the burning building again, making her way unmolested through the still silenced crowd and bearing a burden almost beyond her small strength. It was the big Bible from which the child had heard the lesson read daily for three years. Of all the contents of the big house this was the only thing rescued."

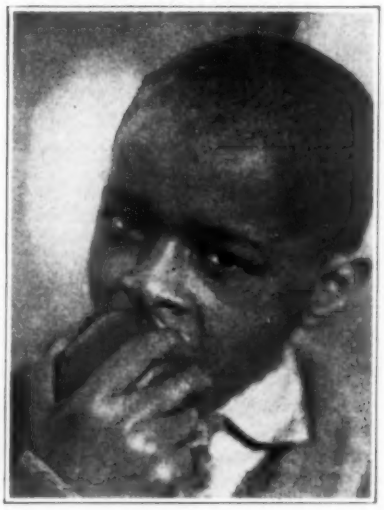
After being marched out of the burning building, the children were sheltered for three days and nights in the 34th Street police station. Then, under an escort of 40 policemen and 20 Zouaves with bayonets, they were removed to Blackwell's Island.

October of that year found them installed in a remodeled house on 50th Street in which they lived for four years. In the fall of 1867 they were moved to a new home at 143rd Street between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenues. From this they moved in 1907 to their present location in Riverdale.

While all these changes in physical surroundings were going on, changes were constantly being made in the management of the institution. Provision was made in 1879 to take in destitute children who were not orphans, and by that process the family was enlarged. In 1887 classes in industrial training were started for the boys, in sewing for the girls, and in cooking and domestic science for both. With the removal to the Riverdale establishment, the cottage system was inaugurated, and in 1919 the institution started what is now its extensive boarding out department.

1843-1863 — Fifth Avenue and 44th Street
Colored Orphan Asylum Building Which Was Built on the West Side of Fifth Avenue, Between 43rd and 44th Streets, in 1843, and Destroyed by Fire in the Draft Riots in 1863.

Since its dramatic beginnings, the Colored Orphan Asylum has cared for more than 9,000 children. Its successive generations of trustes have been true to the spirt of the Quaker found-



We All Like Apples

ers. The institution has always been among the most progressive in the city. It was one of the first to adopt the cottage system. It was among the first to recognize the need for supervised recreation for its young charges. It pioneered in providing after care for the children when they had gone out from its shelter, and it was one of the first institutions in the city, under the leadership of its present Superindendent, Dr. Mason Pitman, a trained psychiatrist, to inaugurate psychological tests which would permit the classification and scientific handling of the boys and girls under its care.

A visitor to the Colored Orphan Asylum today will find 300 boys and girls housed under its hospitable roof, while 500 others are cared for in boarding homes with which the Orphanage keeps constantly in touch. He is sure to be favorably impressed by the friendly atmosphere, by the absence of any attempt at obvious discipline, and by the wide range of healthful activities which not only keep the bodies of the boys and girls strong and healthy, but their minds bright and alert.

In the daytime after school hours happy boys and girls will throng the playground. All kinds of clubs and classes will be in progress in the evening: stamp collecting, electricity, basketry, drawing, painting, harmonica playing. Musical instruction is provided for the children who show especial talent, and a glee club connected with the institution has gained no small measure of fame by its bi-weekly broadcasts through Station WJZ, New York.

Whenever scholarships can be obtained for the purpose, boys and girls of pronounced ability are given the advantage of a higher education, and the names of not a few lawyers, doctors, dentists and professional men and women appear on the roster of its graduates.

Perhaps the truest test of the effectiveness of the institution is the attitude of its alumni. Back in the 1850's an indentured boy who had been sent to a home in the country, wrote back to one of the trustees, whom he called his "dear benefactress": "I have been looking every day for a letter from some of you. I have been to the post office every night and every time I go

(Continued on Page 348)

Rear View, Main Building at Riverdale, N. Y.

Status of Education of the Negro in Florida 1929-1934 » » » » »

• By REID E. JACKSON

An interesting appraisal of the educational opportunities for Negro youth in a southern state. Written without passion, it nevertheless carries the ring of truth.

I. Definition of The Problem

THE purpose of this study is to ascertain the trend in educational facilities accorded to the Negro child in the State of Florida for the five-year period beginning with 1929 and extending through 1934. Consideration is given only to the elementary and secondary schools; since it is the intention of the writer to present data for higher education in a separate study. The procedure employed in the inquiry precludes an analysis of the "interna," i.e., educational program, of the schools. The investigation will be concerned primarily with the availability of educational opportunties; the student population; the teaching personnel; and educational expenditures for colored youth in Florida.

II. The Procedure

Data for the study were secured from the Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the years 1928-1930, 1930-1932, and 1932-1934. Additional information, also, was available in bulletins issued from the Office of the Florida State Department of Education. Personal visitation by the writer into a few of the Negro schools in the State of Florida facilitated greatly the consummation of the study. Comparative figures for white schools are introduced in order to make possible a complete picture of the educational situations detailed.

III. Interpretation of Data

Availibity of Education. The number of elementary and secondary schools[1] maintained for Negro children in Florida is given in Table I. For the year 1929-30, eight hundred and seventy-five elementary schools, twenty-four junior high schools and twenty-two senior high schools were reported for colored children in Florida. Corresponding figures for white schools were 1,228, 190, and 186 respectively. Five years later, in 1934, the number of Negro schools had increased to 884 elementary, 74 junior high and 31 senior high; while the number of white schools had become 1,164 elementary, 313 junior high and 197 senior high. These figures indicate a steady acceleration in the number of Negro schools, with the exception of the elementary schools which evidence a rather noticeable decline in 1934. The most marked growth has occurred in the number of Negro junior high schools which increased from twenty-four in 1929 to seventy-four in 1934 for a gain of fifty or 208.3 per cent. The senior high schools for Negroes, during the same period, have increased nine in number or almost 41 per cent. The total number of Negro schools in Florida has increased sixty-eight or 7.3 per cent between 1929 and 1934; and that of the white schools seventy or 4.3 per cent—an advantage of three per cent for the Negro schools.

But these statistics do not tell the whole story as to the availability of education for Negro children in Florida.

In 1929, forty-five out of a total of sixty-seven counties provided no secondary schools for Negroes, and one[2] of this number had neither

[1]Each department is counted as a school; elementary comprising grades 1-6, junior high grades 7-9, and senior high grades 9-12. Thus, a school reporting grades 7-12 would be listed twice; first as a junior high and again as a senior high.

[2]Collier County.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS* IN FLORIDA BY RACE, TYPE AND YEAR

	Type							
	Elementary		Junior High		Senior High		Total	
Year	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
1929-30	875	1,228	24	190	22	186	921	1,604
1930-31	896	1,212	32	234	25	189	953	1,635
1931-32	905	1,170	56	232	28	192	989	1,594
1932-33	917	1,149	49	234	29	197	995	1,580
1933-34	884	1,164	74	313	31	197	989	1,674

*Data for both public and private schools are included in this and the tables following.

TABLE II
ENROLLMENT OF PUPILS IN SCHOOLS OF FLORIDA ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SCHOOL AND BY RACE AND YEAR

Year	Elementary		Junior High		Senior High		Total	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
1929-30	87,368	188,478	2,680	34,277	1,811	31,820	91,859	254,575
1930-31	88,927	186,279	3,322	39,422	2,838	33,324	95,087	259,025
1931-32	94,121	189,761	4,356	41,108	3,080	35,322	101,557	266,201
1932-33	94,647	190,714	5,927	43,067	2,962	37,598	103,536	271,379
1933-34	90,730	180,377	10,843	62,417	3,308	34,835	104,881	277,629

elementary nor secondary schools for Negroes. Three counties, in addition, maintained junior high schools subsequent to the elementary schools. By 1934, the number of counties without secondary-school facilities had decreased to twenty-eight; but the number of counties maintaining junior high schools only, had increased to fifteen.

The first Negro high school was accredited by the State of Florida in 1924. In 1929, sixteen Negro high schools were successful in meeting standardization requirements. But, in 1934, this number had dwindled to seven—a decrease of 56.2 per cent. Two Negro elementary schools were listed as standard by the State of Florida in 1929. In 1934, the number had increased to ten for a gain of 400 per cent.

Student Population. During the year, 1933-34, the 989 Negro schools in Florida enrolled 104,881 pupils while the 1,674 white schools had a student population of 277,629. According to figures presented in Table II, this represented an increase in enrollment since 1929 of 13,022 or fourteen and two-tenths per cent in the Negro schools and of 23,054 or slightly over nine per cent for the white schools.

The figures given for enrollment in Table II show, also, that the ratio of white to colored pupils in the elementary grades is 1.9 to 1; in the junior-high grades, 5.7 to 1; and in the senior-high grades, 10.5 to 1. These ratios further emphasize the paucity of secondary-school facilities for colored children in Florida. This inference seems plausible in light of the fact that as the number of Negro junior high schools in Florida almost doubled between 1933 and 1934, the enrollment in the junior high schools, likewise, increased nearly two-fold.

Teaching Personnel. Nine hundred and eighty-nine Negro schools in Florida employed 2,660 teachers, during 1934, for 104,881 students. In the same year, 1,674 white schools utilized the services of 8,578 teachers for 277,629 pupils. This gives a pupil-teacher ratio of 39.4 to 1 and 32.3 to 1 for the Negro and white schools respectively. Table III shows that while there has been an increase of 354 or 15.3 per cent in the number of Negro teachers between the years 1929 and 1934, there has been a decrease of 76 or .08 per cent in the number of white teachers in Florida for the same period of time. The figures in Table III indicate, further, that 83.1 per cent of the Negro teachers were in elementary schools; 10.7 per cent in junior high schools; and 6.1 per cent in senior high schools during 1934. Sixty-one and two-tenths per cent of the white teachers gave instruction in elementary schools; 19.9 per cent in junior high schools; and 18.9 per cent in senior high schools, in the same year.

The data contained in Table IV reveal that, in 1934, four hundred and seventy-eight or 17.9 per cent of the Negro teachers were college graduates while 3,663 or 42.7 per cent of the white teachers held college degrees; 847 or 31.8 per cent of the Negro teachers were two-year normal graduates as compared with 2,329 or 27.2 per cent of the white teachers who had completed a two-year normal course; 888 or 33.4 per cent of the Negro teachers possessed high school diplomas while 2,226 or 25.9 per cent of the white teachers were high school graduates; and 447 or 16.9 per cent of the Negro teachers were less than high school graduates in contrast to 360 or 4.2 per cent of the white teachers who had not completed their high school training. Similar

TABLE III
NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS OF FLORIDA BY TYPE OF SCHOOL, RACE AND YEAR

Year	Elementary		Junior High		Senior High		Total	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
1920-30	2,080	5,818	102	1,248	124	1,588	2,306	8,654
1930-31	2,101	5,629	110	1,312	173	1,786	2,384	8,727
1931-32	2,318	5,715	171	1,436	142	1,737	2,631	8,888
1932-33	2,336	5,633	185	1,374	156	1,752	2,677	8,759
1933-34	2,211	5,251	287	1,712	162	1,615	2,660	8,578

Number of Teachers*

*Supervisors and principals are included in the count as teachers.

figures for 1930 were: college graduates, 362 or 15.2 per cent and 3,387 or 38.8 per cent; normal graduates, 549 or 22.5 per cent and 1,954 or 22.4 per cent; high school graduates, 910 or 38.1 per cent and 2,802 or 32.1 per cent; and less than high school graduates, 563 or 23.5 per cent and 584 or 6.7 per cent, for Negro and white teachers respectively. These data indicate that the educational training of the Negro teachers is below that of the white teachers. Moreover, in the four-year period from 1930 to 1934, the relative number of Negro teachers with college degrees had remained approximately the same. However, during this period, there had been a marked decrease in the percentage of Negro teachers who had failed to complete a high school course.

According to the State Agent for Negro Schools: "Negro teachers in Florida have made marked progress in the last ten years (1922 to 1933) in raising the status of their certification. A study . . . reveals a decrease during this period in the number of certificates issued on examination and a marked increase in the number of certificates issued on the basis of college training.[3] . . . On October 1, 1934, Negro teachers in Florida held 1,037 valid certificates granted on examination, and 1,753 valid certificates granted on training. . . . This means at the present time there are enough certificated teachers to fill all teaching positions and enough college trained Negro teachers are available to fill 65 per cent of the teaching positions in the Negro schools of Florida."[4]

Educational Expenditures. The average annual salary of the Negro teacher in Florida for the year 1934 was $352.01 and of the white teacher $776.05. Data in Table V further disclose that the salaries of Negro teachers ranged between $100 and $1,500 and those of white teachers extended from $100 to above $3,500. It is interesting to note that, in 1930, the salary of one Negro teacher attained the level of $2,500.

The grand total cost of real school property and equipment, in 1933, was $69,785,463. Of this amount, $4,459,208 or 6.4 per cent represented expenditures on Negro schools. Yet the Negro comprised 29.4 per cent of the total population of Florida.

In 1929, the per capita cost for the education of Negro pupils in Florida, based on teachers' salaries, was $10.33 and for white students $33.73. By 1934, this per capita expenditure had decreased to $9.10 and $25.04 for Negro and white pupils respectively.

The sum of $10,949.08 was expended for the transportation of Negro pupils in Florida in 1929 as compared with that of $1,020,819.40 for white students. In other words, approximately ninety-four times as much was spent for the transportation of white school children in Florida, during the year 1929 as for that of Negro school children. By 1934, this ratio had been decreased to about 46 to 1 as $20,684.38 was spent in the transportation of Negro children and $957,061.29 for white children.

IV. Conclusions

1. Between 1929 and 1934, the number of Negro schools in Florida increased 7.3 per cent. The most marked gain, for this period, was an increase of 208.3 per cent in the number of junior high schools. However, it should be cautioned that the mere segregation of grades does not define satisfactorily a junior high school. Only evaluation of procedures employed in these institutions in the light of valid objectives can determine whether or not they *actually* are junior high schools.

2. There is a paucity of secondary-school facilities for Negro children in the State of Florida. In 1934, twenty-eight or nearly 42 per cent out of a total of sixty-seven counties failed to provide any secondary schools whatsoever for Negro children. An additional fifteen counties maintained grades one through nine for the Negro children residing in them.

3. Less than two per cent of the Negro

[3]It should be noted that a large number of Negro teachers qualify for the Graduate State Certificate issued upon the completion of a two-year normal course in an accredited college. This would suggest, then, that the Negro colleges in Florida are placing undue emphasis on two-year normal curricula.

[4]*Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida,* June 30, 1934, p. 170.

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS OF FLORIDA BY RACE AND YEAR*

	College Graduates		Normal Graduates		High School Certificates		Less Than H. S. Graduates	
Year	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
1930-31	362	3,387	549	1,954	910	2,802	563	584
1931-32	407	3,723	605	2,134	1,046	2,623	573	408
1932-33	410	3,781	695	2,265	970	2,382	602	331
1933-34	478	3,663	847	2,329	888	2,226	447	360

*Data do not seem available for 1929-30.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION BY SALARY RANGE OF TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS OF FLORIDA ACCORDING TO RACE AND YEAR

Salary Range	Year 1929-30		1930-31		1931-32		1932-33		1933-34	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
$100-199	463	35	570	30	161	5	320	3	98	8
200-299	363	111	244	132	273	5	841	82	718	23
300-399	230	290	286	261	694	73	371	798	638	216
400-499	415	486	429	359	559	509	465	848	269	985
500-749	525	1,419	571	1,451	671	1,756	553	2,143	451*	3,750*
750-999	348	2,136	217	2,058	213	2,128	96	2,333	24*	1,921*
1,000-1,249	33	2,488	39	2,307	29	2,271	20	1,481	22*	1,312*
1,250-1,499	9	1,084	13	1,399	21	1,444	6	706	2*	146*
1,500-1,999	9	515	12	453	9	445	5	229	0	144*
2,000-2,499	0	138	2	166	1	141	0	89	0	44
2,500-3,499	0	66	1	78	0	87	0	39	0	23
3,500 and over	0	20	0	33	0	23	0	7	0	5

*Because of the change in the manner by which data were compiled in the Report of the State Department of Education, these figures have been adjusted for purposes of tabulation in the present table.

schools in Florida met the standardization requirements of the State in 1934. Although there were slightly more elementary schools than secondary schools accredited, the number of high schools represent a greater percentage of the total group than in the case of the elementary schools.

4. There has been a greater increase in enrollment in the Negro schools in Florida since 1929 than in white schools. This is to be expected, though, as there has been a correspondingly greater increase in the number of Negro schools.

5. The number of teachers in the Negro schools of Florida increased 15.3 per cent between 1929 and 1934, while the number of white teachers decreased .08 per cent.

6. The educational status of the Negro teacher in Florida is below that of the white teacher. In 1934, only about one-fifth of the number of Negro teachers were college graduates; and this represented an increase of only 2.7 per cent since 1930. The number of Negro teachers, however, who had not completed a high school course had decreased noticeably in this four-year period.

7. The average annual salary of the Negro teacher in Florida for the year 1934 was $352—approximately one-half that of the white teacher.

8. The educational expenditures for the Negro child in Florida are disproportionate to the per cent the Negro represents of the total population. For example, in 1933, although the Negro comprised 29.4 per cent of the population, the cost of real school property and equipment in Negro schools was 6.4 per cent of the total cost for the entire state. Furthermore, the per capita cost for the Negro child, based on teachers' salaries, was $9.10 as compared with $25.04 for the white pupil.

Mendicants

(Memories of Nassau—The Bahamas)

By LEONARD TWYNHAM

DARK boys with bands about their loins
Follow the carriages begging coins:

Just a penny! Just a penny!
I haven't any. I haven't any.
Give it a toss! Give it a toss!
Do, boss, do, boss, do!

Bright bronze bodies in a heap!
One hand that clutches a prize to keep!

Just a penny!
One more toss!
You have many!
Thanks, boss, thanks!

I see them now along the street
Where beggars shuffle weary feet—
On fancy's road the brown boys run,
Their limbs deep-burnished by the sun! . . .

Just a penny!
You haven't any?
Please, boss, please, boss, please.
I've had a bad, a bad bad loss,
Please, boss, please!

Half-Castes and Peace » » » »

A Memorandum Submitted to the International Peace Congress

• By CEDRIC DOVER

Here is a unique proposal—the alignment of the half-castes of the world in a single co-operative body for World Peace. How many half-castes are in the world? Dr. Dover tells us.

TODAY all "races" are "mixed races." There are no half-castes because there are no full-castes, as the perusal of any sane study of human groups (such as *We Europeans*, by Huxley and Haddon) will show. The term "half-caste," however, is useful as it has acquired a popular meaning which covers all individuals of comparatively recent white and colored ancestry. Of course, it has a derogatory value too, but I believe that the best way to deprive an epithet of its vulgarity is to employ it generally in unemotional contexts.

Distribution

Half-castes occur, in larger numbers than is usually supposed, in every country. In India, the estimated Eurasian (now miscalled "Anglo-Indian") population today is at least 180,000; in Ceylon, 35,000; in British Malaya, 18,000; in the Dutch East Indies, 200,000—and these figures are grossly underestimated, as all returns for mixed communities are. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that there are more than three million Eurasians in Indo-Malaya alone, if Luso-Asiatics, "passing" Eurasians and Eurasians of Asiatic paternity are included.

In the Pacific, miscegenation has been so extensive that Dr. S. H. Roberts rightly regards it as "one of the most transforming agencies at work." In support of this statement it will suffice to say that even in the tiny and remote Tongan Islands Protectorate there are 400 half-castes, while among the comparatively small, but more highly colonized, populations of Samoa and Fiji their number rises to about 4,000 in each case. In the Hawaiian Islands, the majority of the total population of half a million is of mixed origin, only 20,000 individuals claiming to be pure Hawaiian. In Australia, tropic citadel of "racial purity," there are some 20,000 acknowledged part-aboriginals, not to mention other mixtures, and in New Zealand that number is doubled.

In South Africa, the Eurafrican population is officially estimated at 600,000, the total representing only the residual community of unmistakable "mixed bloods," as Mr. George Findlay of Pretoria has shown in a recent statistical study of dilution in the Union. He states that its European population of 1.9 millions contains no less than 733,000 persons with a touch of tar-brush.

In the United States, more than 80 per cent of the total Afroamerican population of 12 millions is of mixed descent, and it is said that from ten to twenty thousand Negroids "cross the color line" every year. Moreover, there are large groups of Mexicans, Asiatics and endemic Indians, who not only raise the recognized hybrid population, but contribute very considerably to the dilution of the supposed whites as well. It is almost unnecessary to add that miscegenation has been so conspicuous below the Rio Grande that most of the Republics are often referred to as the "mongrel countries," a rough calculation showing that 60 per cent or more of a total population of 120 millions in 22 Republics and major colonies has arisen from the fusion of very diverse stocks. In Jamaica, which is not included in this estimate, 20 per cent of the population of 1.1 millions is "colored," the figure being a fair index of mixture in the West Indies.

For Europe figures are hard to find, but it is generally known that African and Asiatic infiltration has gone on for centuries—and still goes on. In the British Islands, Eurasians and Eurafricans may be seen everywhere, while in many coastal towns, such as Liverpool and Cardiff, half-caste colonies are growing up as distinct communities. And even in Nazi Germany a walk along the Kurfurstendamm is still almost as instructive for the student of ethnic mixture as a stroll in the more colorful Boulevard St. Michael. Since the war this assimilated mongrel population has been implemented by 2,000 "Black Bastards" (the official designation for these Negroid and Annamite half-castes), resulting from the French occupation of the Rhine.

These notes are neither extensive nor accurate, but they may indicate the extent of mongrelization in the modern world and its influence on ethnic composition in earlier times. And if it is also understood that mixture within the major divisions or color varieties of mankind, and between the brown, yellow and black types, is continually and everywhere proceeding in addition to that between white and colored peoples, it should be easy to visualize the truth of Walt Whitman's statement that "A vast similitude interlocks all."

Characteristics

Most half-castes are "marginal men," that is to say they live on the margins of, and help to spread, more than one culture. They are generally organized as national minorities, with special privileges and disabilities created by the presence of a dominant white class, which operate comparably, especially under conditions of imperialism, in spite of territorial and national differences. The parallel peculiarities of half-caste communities, around which a great deal of pseuo-scientific discussion has centered, are therefore functions of similar social environments, and not of innate disharmony resulting from the genetic incompatibility derived from an unequal "racial" heritage.

Their resemblances to each other are increased by common factors in their ethnic origins and religio-cultural background, peoples of Mediterranean type and culture having played a dominant part, which has been extended by selection and the instability of certain characters associated with the previously mixed contributing colored groups, in their growth. Thus, the Eurasians of any area, the Eurafricans, and the mulattoes of North and South America, have all arisen from the fusion of the major ethnic elements, with the Mediterranean type predominating, as is evident, apart from historical and biological considerations, from the striking affinities that impress the traveller, or the student with access to a large collection of photographs of half-castes from areas as widely separated as Calcutta and Cuba.

Within narrower geographical limits these physical and social similarities are, of course, still more evident. For example, the majority of Eurasians from Aden to Shanghai are not only characterized by their ethnic unity, but speak the same language (English) either as their mother tongue or as an additional accomplishment, profess the same basic religious faith (Christianity), and are conditioned by similar traditions, prejudices and economic factors which have helped to determine the general uniformity of their dress, food, domestic habits and social outlook. Indeed, in Stalin's definition of a nation as "an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture," they could lay more claim to national unity than the peoples of many accepted nations. Moreover, this Eurasion "nation" could be enlarged by closer contacts with many other similar half-caste groups, such as those of Oceania, America, and South Africa.

Conclusions

The extent of ethnic mixture, and the obvious biological ineffectuality of economic discrimination parading as "racial prejudice," is the answer to racialism—an answer that should be developed by those who appreciate the role of racialism in building the psychological foundations for war. But more than that it suggests that the continued growth of intimate ethnic relations and mixed populations must be accepted as part of the machinery of human evolution, as evidence of a movement towards that greater ethnic and cultural uniformity without which a truly constructive society, even under politically equalitarian conditions cannot be effectively stabilized. In the long view, then, the half-caste must be regarded as a portent of a new humanity—a portent to be encouraged by the stimulation of eugenical mixture, in an environment increasingly freed from irrational and unproductive forces, as a major contribution to a virile state of universal peace and brotherhood.

The characteristics of marginal communities reveal features opposed to an aggressive spirit of nationalism and racialism, and favorable to closer relations between half-castes of various nationalities, which would lead inevitably to better international understanding. In the near view, therefore, the half-caste must be regarded as an immediate potential in the struggle for peace. And the methods by which his potentiality can be matured are today within the sphere of practical politics. Broadly speaking, they involve propaganda aimed at (1) the diffusion of a rational attitude towards ethnic problems; (2) the liberation of half-castes from the complex conditioning of imperialism and assumptions of white superiority, together with education for a proper appreciation of themselves and their responsibilities in national development and international relations; (3) the creation, on a cultural basis, of a sort of united front between marginal communities, which would expand their scope for social and intellectual improvement (by providing an extension of the vital factor of audience, which influences both the quality and the quantity of achievement) and persuade the enlargement of liberal national policies. The details of such a campaign are outside the intention of this note. But that they will be seriously considered, by those whose object it is to promote peace and progress, is the hope that has determined its writing.

The Problem of Unemployed Women

By MAGNOLIA L. LATIMER

The author expresses her views on the utilization of handicrafts and home crafts in the stabilization of unemployed women.

THERE always has been and always will be a group of women who are lost during spare moments. These along with others may say "I have no spare time—I'm always busy." Even the unemployed say this. In many cases it is really true but unnecessarily so. It is hardly possible that anyone will spend all of her waking hours working, so we are forced to ask this question: Is your work planned and organized or does this business of "being busy" mean that it is work?

Modern society has created for women a great amount of spare time and now especially is this true during these days of unemployment. How is it used? Its utilization in modern cities is a serious problem. We have about us people who are dispirited because they have either been declared unemployable or who can find no employment; we have others who have become reckless, careless, indifferent, indolent and flighty. The use of one's spare time at this point may play an important part in determining future stability. A child's use of spare time may mean physical injury or the development of wholly anti-social patterns of conduct; for the youth it may mean wrecked health or wrecked character; for the adult it may mean dissipation of physical or mental powers.

The use of the adult woman's spare time is of sufficient importance to be stressed in order that her morale remain at par. Besides the problems of modern city life mentioned above, she is confronted with too much indoor life and work, close confinement to routine tasks, repression of many fundamental human hungers during the hours of employment, and if unemployed she is prone to become mentally stagnant and physically incapacitated. Her use of spare time may have a negative or a positive aspect. Negatively, a misuse that will work physical and particularly moral deterioration which, if social workers have any task at all, should be fought against. Positively, spare time may be an open sesame to unlock the resources which are so greatly needed to supplement the artificiality of modern living. If used wisely and constructively, it becomes one of her most precious assets.

This adult group under consideration consists of women eighteen years of age and over. With the exception of a small percentage, the group is made up of those who are married and have established homes. A life work has at one time been entered upon, whether keeping house, tending the babies or employment outside of the home. In order to prevent the misuse of spare time it is often well to consider some form of organization, as in organized activity a larger group may be reached over a minimum period of time. Again, in work done with organized groups, there is a continuity offered with a definite goal set—the finished product. However, unorganized activities are useful, offer greater possibilities of variety, and bring out individual talents, but with no specific, definite goal, so it seems that for the type of restless, troubled women met today, organized activity is more beneficial.

After the unorganized activities, then come classes and clubs. A class is usually a more loosely constructed organization than a club and people are often able to come into a class without being regular attendants. But clubs have a definite membership and entail some individual responsibility so a club suffers or gains from its membership. Activities are best organized on the club basis and the general plan is to supply an instructor for all activities for which there is sufficient demand from its members. Too, it is well to organize groups into clubs as then individuals feel that they have a "say" in the business; they have a feeling of importance along with the feeling that they definitely "belong"—somebody wants them, somebody is dependent on their decisions and actions, somebody cares whether or not they attend meetings. But even such groups will eventually break down if there is nothing to hold the interest.

Handicrafts and home crafts have served as a central point to which the interest is attracted and held, as well as a stabilizer for the existing restlessness. This is true because in the outset the most common forms of crafts are introduced and especially those which are simple, attractive, useful, inexpensive, quickly finished, and which may be worked at while sitting. This latter attribute is of especial importance because the women are usually tired. Too, crafts with the above named attributes are such that permit of talking or singing while being performed.

Simplicity was named as an attribute of the craft introduced. Anything difficult may be discouraging and there may be present those who

have no especial aptitude for crafts of any kind: ofttimes one joins the group because of a friend's interest, the desire for mingling with others and the desire to get away from the monotony of home life; ofttimes a physical handicap as poor sight or malformed fingers exists. Thus introductory crafts that would emphasize these lacks are taboo. A simple article—a candle holder—may be made from a tin can using common materials, as a pair of old scissors, a hammer, rivets, and a sharp nail. The group leader should have a completed article on display; she should then be ready to give complete instructions step by step.

Attractiveness as an attribute explains itself. Who wants to make something that is ugly? Furthermore, this article must be attractive to the individual making it. This candle holder can be painted, stenciled, or perforated to the place where it becomes unique. The article should be useful. Now usefulness usually implies general utility or ordinary serviceability, but it should be remembered that an article which fills an ugly corner, brightens a dark wall or attracts attention to an antique is also useful. The candle holder has general utility but what of a silhouette made, possibly, on an old piece of window glass with black paint, or a footstool made from tin cans covered with a piece of gay chintz!

If possible, the article should cost nothing; if there is money involved, a problem is presented. In making the footstool mentioned above, the tin cans are rubbish; old velvet, cretonne or dyed sugar sacks may be substituted for the chintz.

The introductory article should be such that it can be finished at one meeting. It gives one a feeling of pride and personal satisfaction to carry home from the first meeting something completed that she can show "the folks." There are many others besides the candle holder. For example, a pickle jar modernistically decorated with gay-colored paper which makes an attractive vase; an ordinary bar of white laundry soap carved with any appealing design, a crayonexed vanity set, etc.

Something should be said concerning the equipment of the group leader. She must know the activity thoroughly if she is to present it. She must know the pitfalls that await the malformed, the slow, the clumsy and the careless. She must know that these errors must be corrected and that tactfully. In fact, she must know how to find a good point in each person's work, how to move about gracefully and quickly and how to bring the meeting to a close so that there is a desire to return on the part of the members. The next activity should always be planned so that the materials necessary will be forthcoming. These arrangements can be made as the group works.

It is possible that the group would wish to make some article with which the leader is not familiar. An effort should be made to get an instructor for this activity and it would be well for the leader to learn along with the group. This gives her more rapport with the group. They are glad to know that she is not so "all sufficient," that after all she is as human as they. However, she does not lose her identity as group leader.

However, there are problems in all organizations and very definitely there are problems here that may or may not be serious. It all depends on the way the leader and group consider them. These problems, if they involve the group, should be worked out with the group informally.

First of all is the problem of interest on the part of members. (We are assuming that the leader is interested.) The leader must find everyone's interest. Her case work technique can be used in the friendly visit. She should not expect any worthwhile thing from a person whose interest she cannot attract and hold.

Some of the women may have become reckless because of long suppressed desires. Pressure from within the group takes care of this. The activity at hand, in the form of the craft, acts as a point of control for restlessness. The woman's interest is found, she becomes quieted and settles down. If she is careless, competition offered by other members of the group soon arouses her sense of pride; if she is indolent, stimuli through friendly rivalry from within the group brings about pride in self-achievement; if she is flighty, there is group control again which says "every artcile begun must be completed," her indifference is overcome by the knowledge that somebody cares and that she "belongs."

After the group is organized, and if it is a club there should be organization, there is a desire for each officer to perform her duties. Hence a treasury. If the matter of the treasury is handled tactfully and carefully there will be no need for the financial problems which naturally occur when materials for the craft are needed. The funds for the treasury can be supplied in various ways—dues, parties, rummage sales, contests, or what have you? With the settling of the financial problem the equipment problem is settled as well.

In the organization there will necessarily be business meetings or a small portion of time allotted to business. The leader must settle a question for herself and on the basis of the make-up of the group—the question of how much

(Continued on Page 348)

Correspondence « « « « «

2139 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.,
June 30, 1936.

To the Editor,
Opportunity Magazine, New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Were we called upon to name a few among the first citizens of the United States, we should readily name George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Booker T. Washington.

Histories of this country, being as they are, written, published and held up by the white group, have always and will continue to show reasons why George Washington and Lincoln are thus referred to. For the same reasons, these histories have scarcely mentioned nor will they ever emphasize anything done by Booker T. Washington.

In view of this general fact, and more particularly because of an article in the June OPPORTUNITY, please permit me to say a word to you bearing on Booker T. Washington. Let me tell you of just a few of the things that lead me to classify this man among the very great of the country. I need not tell you where he came from, now how he traveled the distance to heights attained by few. . . . . .

In your June OPPORTUNITY, Mr. Bostic J. Franklin says of Booker T. Washington: "It is a grim joke that Booker T. Washington, who assumed leadership of the American Negro after the death of Fred Douglass, made apologies for the South's policies of Negro disfranchisement. . . . Washington defended the policy of the white South in its denial of suffrage to the Negro because he wished to maintain goodwill of Southern whites towards Tuskegee." . . . . .

I have heard Booker T. Washington speak many and many a time. I have read many an item written by him, I have seen his Tuskegee, I have seen the fruits of many other of his efforts, and I know that no decent person, white or black, with the slightest regard for the truth, could say that Booker T. Washington ever apologized for the South's policy of disfranchisement of the Negro. To say that Washington defended this policy for the sake of the South's "goodwill" to Tuskegee would be a disgrace to a race of the lowest ingrates.

Mr. Bostic J. Franklin holds up Marcus Garvey as his ideal, his man who "understood the psychology of the Negro." Well, no wonder.

For his proof, this Mr. Franklin refers us to an article written by Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris in the Encyclopedia of Social Science. We carefully read this article, and as was expected, found that nowhere in it did Spero and Harris make any such false statement about Booker T. Washington. They did say that, "The Washington philosophy was reactionary and represented a step backwards from the Negro leadership of the preceding generation."

This represents the most radical charge by these two men against Booker T. Washington, and even this not only does not approach the statement made by Bostic Franklin, but in itself could only be read as the honest opinions of Spero and Harris, neither of whom could dare set himself up beside Booker T. Washington either as a judge or anything else.

The tragedy of this Bostic Franklin article lies in the fact that the average reader will feel without a struggle that when he refers us to the Encyclopedia of Social Science he has proven his case. The truth is altogether otherwise. The entire Franklin article is not only little but false. We knew this before we read the reference in the Encyclopedia of Social Science. Our reading, however, was not only confirmatory but showed that the entire Franklin contribution was but a rewrite of this Spero-Harris article presented in a deformed and twisted fashion. . . . .

Booker T. Washington went into the black lynch-belt of Alabama to establish a Tuskegee and begin a world-wide vocational education system. Has Marcus Garvey anything to compare with the shining light of Tuskegee? Has Bostic Franklin ever heard of the growth of this vocational education system begun by Booker T. Washington?

We dare class Booker T. Washington among the very great. Great to have begun a system of education that has enveloped the world. Great if for nothing else, to have established a shining and guiding light at dark Tuskegee, Alabama. And great above all to have gone down among people who might have lynched him and come away with not only their aid, but their love.

Are there those who regard Washington a fool for having begun his work in the heart of the South along with those who regard Benjamin Franklin a fool for having started out in the lightning storm?

Has OPPORTUNITY eyes enough to see throughout all of this the All-mighty God that pervaded and still pervades the man, Booker T. Washington?

Judgment, the soundness of which will outlast the mountains, was uttered when Washington said, "No race that has anything to contribute to the market of the world is long in any degree ostracized." (From the same Spero-Harris article).

We said in the beginning that we regarded Booker T. Washington as not only the greatest Negro ever, but as one of the greatest citizens that this country has ever produced. All of this may be laughed at and justly so, as just another opinion, but even Bostic Franklin cannot laugh this off: Vocational education in its great growth, Tuskegee and numbers of other outstanding developments, that easily withstand all such assaults, declare Booker T. Washington to be one of the world's truly great men.

Those who knew Booker T. Washington during his life time know that he never even looked down or turned around to meet this kind of an attack. In view of the good sense of this procedure, our final word is that we speak not for Booker T. Washington; he does not need it; nor do we speak for the benefit of any who knew him, neither do they need more than the clear, calm voice of Booker T. Washington's achievements. We do speak for the benefit of the many who have not known the man and who might reasonably think that there should be at least some truth in the assault found in the June OPPORTUNITY, which is clearly intended only to defame the name of the greatest Negro ever, Booker T. Washington. (Signed) BARNETT M. RHETTA, M.D

Book Reviews « « « « «

WE SING AMERICA (For children under 12). By Marion Cuthbert. The Friendship Press. New York City. $1.00.

MOTHERS and teachers of young children will be glad to learn what a suggestive wealth of ideas concerning the Negro's part in the development of America Miss Cuthbert has included in her small volume of one hundred and seventeen pages.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters with titles clearly indicating their adaptation to a child's understanding: "Discovering America," "Living in the City," "Acting in the Theatre," and yet under these very simple headings the author discusses the outstanding relationships between the black and white races. We read that from the time Columbus sailed to America with black sailors aboard his ship, and Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean with black explorers in his party, the two races have worked shoulder to shoulder. We hear what obstacles the will of a single individual like Estevan, Harriet Tubman or Dr. Carver can conquer when there is a desire to reach a goal. We learn of the separate school systems in some localities, the single in others; how the Negro is denied his right to vote, of his participation in sports and how he earns a living. Each subject is described very simply and yet there is a stimulating variation in presentation. First we are playing a game, then listening to a story or puzzling over statistics, next reading a poem or singing a song. The sections written in the first person, "*'I am a Negro mother.* My husband can't get work, but I can get a job working in the home of a white family, . . .'" are particularly vivid. And we must not forget the charming illustrations by Louise E. Jefferson that add greatly to the effectiveness of the book by showing a comparison more quickly than the printed word.

As I think back over the contents of this book, two points stand out in my mind. One is that the author has brought out the likenesses rather than the differences between Negroes and whites: both races have love of adventure and can work hard; both can be rich or poor, intelligent or stupid; both are an integral part of America. The other is the matter of fact way the unpardonable truths of unfairness to the Negro in this country are presented. When mentioning Jim Crow cars, lynching and peonage, there is no word of accusation or rancor; merely a setting down of the facts with explanations of cause and effect.

It would be impossible in such a limited space to cover all the topics one might like to have seen included, but I wish more could have been written of the Negro's fight in the labor world as exemplified by A. Philip Randolph and the Pullman porters; also, the Negro's part in the World War.

Several days after I had read part of "We Sing America" to my eldest son, aged seven, he remarked, "I have been more interested in Negroes since you read me that book," and I believe this thought applies to children in general. They are interested in the people they know and this leads to friendship. Perhaps children will be first to show us how to live together more happily in America.

SARAH H. POPE.

COMPANY UNIONS DISSECTED

THE COMPANY UNION, PLAN AND PRACTICE. By Lincoln Farley. The Affiliated Schools for Workers. 35 cents.

WHEN the accelerated tempo of American industries, and the corresponding shortage of skilled labor occasioned by the World War found expression in a record enrollment in the organized labor movement (nearly 5,000,000), it was natural and logical that the captains of industry would become alarmed.

Known far and wide for daring and ingenuity in the technique of industrial organization and mass production processes, the American industrial rulers applied their skill to the problem of coping with the obviously aroused proletariat; thus was born the celebrated 'American Plan' the 'Company Union' in its many forms. In spite of the diversity of forms which the Company Union took on, however, as far as function was concerned they all were directed toward an identical end, i. e., to weaken the worker in his efforts to improve his economic and social condition through organized action. Since workingmen were manifesting an interest in unions then we will give them nominal unions, the control and direction of which would remain in the hands of the industrial overlords.

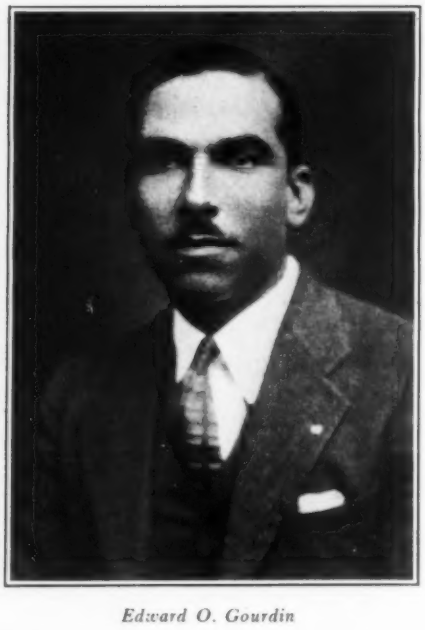
These economic kings in the realm of steel, rubber and other basic industries appreciated the fact that organization is a weapon which may be used either to a good or evil end, and that control of the weapon will determine the use to which it is put while economic self interest will dictate the end to which the weapon is directed. They argued that since the economic interest of workingmen runs counter to the interest of their employers—workers wanting higher wages, shorter hours and security of employment while employers want the work day long, and wages low—then the weapons with which workingmen seek to advance their interest can best be negative if the control of such weapons rests in the hands of the employer.

In "The Company Union Plan and Practice" Mr. Lincoln Farley has given us an exhaustive and complete picture of the Company Union. Chapters in the study deal with various "Types of Company Unions," the "Domination and Influence of Employers upon Company Unions," "Failure of Company Unions" to enter into contractual relations with employers or to promote remedial legislation affecting working conditions; "Limitation of Company Union Activities" to grievances and other more or less basically meaningless functions of the Company Union.

The study was made under the aegis of "Affiliated Schools for Workers" and should prove of invaluable service to all students of modern American life with its perplexing socio-economic and industrial problems. I recommend it especially to Negro workers who have long been victimized by Company Unions and to those Negro leaders who knowingly or unknowingly have been used by large employers of Negro labor to bless and defend the infamous Company Union.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

Survey of the Month « « « «



Edward O. Gourdin

Appointments

The Reverend John H. Johnson, vicar of St. Martin's P. E. Church, New York City, was appointed during the past summer to the ERB Board by Mayor Fiorella H. LaGuardia. Reverend Johnson has long been active in the work of civic and social betterment in Harlem.

* * *

John B. West, M.D., has been appointed District Health Officer for the Central Harlem Health District. He is a graduate of the Howard University Medical School and received his A.M. in Public Health at Harvard University. In 1930 Dr. West served as Director of Health Administration at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

* * *

Edward O. Gourdin was recently appointed Assistant United States District Attorney of the Eastern District of Massachusetts. The appointment was made by U. S. Attorney Francis J. W. Ford. Attorney Gourdin is a graduate of Harvard College, where he made a fine record as an athlete and a scholar. He received the LL.B. degree from the Harvard Law School in 1924 and has been a practicing attorney in the state and federal courts for 11 years.

* * *

PWA

Thanks to the PWA, the colored children of Richmond, Va., are to receive a new fire-proof high school, according to an announcement of Secretary Ickes of the Department of the Interior.

"Previously announced Public Works Administration allotments involving aid to Negro educational institutions provided new and bettered facilities for more than 42,296 students in 15 states, for the most part in the South. These improvements were estimated to cost $26,287,076 for which PWA loans amounted to $7,144,055 and grants totalled $9,323,050. These funds provided for repair to many existing buildings and construction of 213 new schools containing 1,165 classrooms.

"They were divided among Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia."

* * *

Radio

Clyde Barrie, barytone, of Brooklyn, New York, was presented October 16 on a coast to coast hook-up over Columbia's blue net work on the program known as the "Heinz Magazine of the Air." Barrie, who is rapidly gaining attention for his excellent radio work, appeared on this program in place of Reed Kennedy, the regular soloist.

* * *

Art

The work of four Negro artists was featured in the exhibition "New Horizons in American Art," which was on view at the Museum of Modern Art and is now on tour. The artists are Samuel J. Brown of Philadelphia, Pa., Allen Rohan Crite of Boston, Mass., Charles Seebree of Chicago, Ill., and Charles Alston of New York City. "New Horizons in American Art" is under the auspices of the WPA.

* * *

Scholarship

A senior year scholarship at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., has been awarded to Mabel Murphy, for three years a student at Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia. Miss Murphy qualified for the scholarship by passing entrance examinations given last spring at Emory College, Atlanta.

Clyde Barrie

Publications

Mrs. Nell Occomy Becker, graduate of Columbia University, is responsible for the excellence of The *Krinon*, the official organ of the Phi Delta Kappa Sorority. The *Krinon*, one of the younger of the college group magazines, is striking both in appearance and content.

* * *

Columbia University Press announces the publication of *The Negro Labor Unionist of New York* by Dr. Charles Lionel Franklin. The book is one of the series of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Dr. Franklin is at present on the research staff of the New York Unemployment Insurance Division of the Department of Labor.

* * *

Theatre

The summer theatre at the A. and T. College of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C., was a signal success. Sidney Howard's "The Silver Cord" was produced under the direction of J. Percy Bond, professor of dramatics. The scenery, costumes and lighting were all in the hands of students, who produced work of exceptional merit. The members of the cast were Aurelia Whittington, Frances Wallace, Barbara Johnson, James Poole and William Wallace.

* * *

Co-operatives

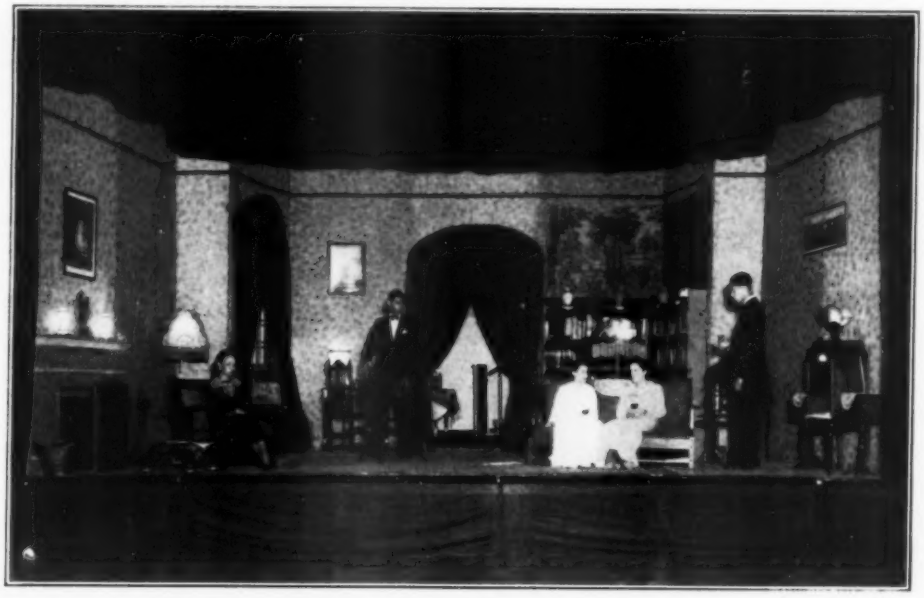
The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches is making a study of the possibilities of co-operative purchasing by Harlem consumers, according to Mrs. Lucius R. Eastman, chairman of the Committee of Direction of the Department of Race Relations, Scarsdale, New York.

Nell Occomy Becker

Churches

"Director William L. Austin of the Bureau of the Census announces that Secretary of Commerce Roper recently received advice that President Roosevelt had arranged for the allocation of funds with which the Bureau of the Census will take the 1936 census of religious bodies.

"Of the 213 religious bodies reported in the 1926 Census, 24 were exclusively Negro, while 30 which were pri-



A Scene from Sidney Howard's Theatre Guild Success, "The Silver Cord," Produced by The Agricultural and Technical College Summer Theatre, Greensboro, N. C.

marily white denominations had one or more Negro churches among their number. No effort was made to enumerate the individual Negro members belonging to local white churches.

"The total number of Negro churches reported was 42,585 in 1926, of which the Negro Baptists had 22,081; the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 6,708; the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, 2,518; and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 2,466. Among white denominations having a certain number of Negro congregations, the Methodist Episcopal Church had by far the most, 3,743. These five bodies had 88.1 percent of all the Negro churches in the United States. The value of 37,347 Negro church edifices reported in 1926 was $205,782,628 and the debt in 8,884 church edifices reporting debt was $22,178,581."

* * *

Urban League

A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, announces that Miss Pauline Redmond has been appointed as director of Social Service of the Chicago Urban League. Miss Redmond was the 1935-36 Urban League Fellow at the University of Pittsburgh.

The staff of the Chicago Urban League is now constituted as follows: Industrial Department, Howard D. Gould, director, Horace Jordan, assistant director, Miss Ann LaFoe, stenographer-secretary; Social and Civic Department, Frayser T. Lane, director, Mrs. Florence Scott, West Side field worker, Miss Juliette Boykin, South Side field worker, Miss Winnifred Shirley, stenographer-secretary; Social Service Department, Miss Pauline Redmond, director; Administrative Department, A. L. Foster, director, Miss Odessa Cave, office manager, Miss Denella Brown, stenographer-switchboard operator.

* * *

Wiley Hall, executive secretary of the Richmond Urban League and former commander of the Urban F. Bass Post of the American Legion of that city, has been elected Department Vice-Commander-at-Large to have supervision over colored posts in the state of Virginia.

* * *

James H. Baker, Jr., former Fellow of the Urban League at the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed Administrator of Home Relief, District Office No. 33, New York City.

* * *

Alonzo G. Moron, graduate of Brown University and former Urban League Fellow at the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed assistant housing manager for the new University Homes, federal low cost housing project which is shortly to be opened in the vicinity of Atlanta University.

In November, 1933 Mr. Moron was appointed Commissioner of Public Welfare of the Virgin Islands by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. During the winter of 1935-36 Mr. Moron attended the Management Training School, which was conducted at Washington by the National Association of Housing Officials with the active cooperation of the Public Works Administration.

PASSING HUNDREDTH MILESTONE

(Continued from Page 335)

my heart bounds to think that there is a letter for me."

Times have changed and phraseology has changed. "Dear benefactress" is not a part of the vocabulary of the boys of the 1900's. But scarcely a mail comes to the Asylum that does not bring an affectionate letter from one of the former boys or girls, and when Alumni Day was observed last Labor Day, 150 of them came back to bear testimony to the fact that they still thought of the Orphanage as "home."

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYED WOMEN

(Continued from Page 343)

parliamentary procedure should be permitted and how much organization routine is necessary. Will these facilitate or handicap the business?

Then there are problems of tardiness on the part of individual members; restlessness caused by monotony of the activity, competition and rivalry, the problem of the young working with the old. If the leader is on time for every meeting, begins the stated activity on the minute that she is supposed to, and refuses to take up time allotted to some one else for a tardy member, and if the activity is of sufficient interest, one may overcome the problem of tardiness. Oftimes, if the present activity is tedious, a break may be brought about by singing or telling jokes, etc., for a period of about ten minutes. Competition should not be encouraged to an unhealthy degree and always rivalry should be kept friendly. In observing competition and when there is a sufficiently large enough number of younger women working with the old, a division is desirable, but if there are just one or two of one age group and a majority of the other, the situation must be handled very tactfully in order to maintain the interest of all. If every member is made to feel a part of the group and has a definite responsibility upon which group activity hinges, all will work well.

Quarterly or annual displays of the group's achievements serve as a goal towards which the women may work as well as offer the public an opportunity to observe group accomplishments.